

*See my Rep*



# THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. VI.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

THE LIBERATOR  
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

••• TWO DOLLARS per annum, always payable in advance. All letters and communications must be post paid. The rule is imperative, in order to shield us from the frequent impositions of our enemies.—Those, therefore, who with their letters to be taken from the Post Office by us, will be careful to pay their postage.

••• An advertisement making one square, or a space of equal length and breadth, will be inserted three times for one dollar.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

REPORT

Of the Joint Special Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, on the memorial of the Anti-Slavery Society.

The Joint Special Committee to whom was referred the memorial of certain persons called the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in which they state that the Committee refused them a full hearing in the premises, ask leave respectfully to submit the following

REPORT.

In the progress of their investigations of the matters originally referred to them; and while they were preparing to report to the Legislature, your Committee received, through their Chairman, a note from an individual, requesting to be heard before them, on the part of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and stating as a reason therefor, that their motives had been misapprehended, and their conduct misjudged. From the very first moment, your Committee entertained the strongest doubt, to express it in no more decisive language, as to the extent of their powers to permit a hearing in this behalf. But being well aware that their report, and the subsequent actions of the Legislature thereon, might, in some way or other, affect the interests of the persons requesting to be heard, and remembering that these individuals were our fellow citizens, under whatever name, asking a remedy at the source of power, and entertaining a strong desire to avoid every appearance of expressing an opinion, without a full understanding of the real desires of the persons in question from their own mouths, your Committee ventured to permit the meeting requested, hoping that the power which gave them their authority, would, in the end, appreciate their motives, and justify their conduct.

There were, also, in those days, other distinguished 'incendiaries' from foreign shores—'incendiaries' whose names are deeply enshrined in American bosoms, and whose names on the historic page are prominent and lovely to the view. Can we groan at the documents upon which they were deliberating, to our own Executive; and that the investigations could hardly help assuming something of an *ex parte* character, when the Anti-Slavery Society were permitted to appear, with such allegations and evidence as they choose to submit, while the southern planter could not, in the nature of the case, be present, either to reply by argument, or to offer testimony in behalf of his own side of the case. Your Committee, however, ventured to overlook all this, and heard the party upon two several occasions. At both hearings, and particularly the second, your Committee regretted to find, in a portion of the speakers, instead of that modest demeanor becoming citizens in presence of a Committee of the Legislature regretted to find, in a portion of the speakers, instead of that modest demeanor becoming citizens in presence of the Committee of the Legislature, a vehemence both of language and manner, and an open avowal of their determination to pursue their object at all hazards, which did not tend to conciliate the sentiments of your Committee, and whose purpose seemed to be to arouse feelings already unstable enough upon this highly exciting topic.

The Committee suggested to the individuals appearing, that they were permitted to come in merely as a matter of favor and indulgence, and not upon any ground of right; but notwithstanding all this, the committee, by its chairman, has been several times called upon to interpose, in order to check irrelevant discussion, and to restrain offensive and improper language. But whether might have been the intentions of these individuals, your committee certainly listened to many things, upon these occasions, of a nature so indecorous and improper, that they had frequent occasion to regret that the indulgence of a hearing had been granted at all.

The Committee feel this to be the most painful part of their duty, where none has been very agreeable; and they trust that the Legislature will understand, that the report they make on this point is intended only as a reason why no further hearing should be granted to the individuals in question. In point of fact, at the first meeting, four persons appearing in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society, occupied about two hours and a half in speaking; at the second meeting, four persons, in part the same, occupied about an equal amount of time; and your committee had nothing in the whole argument, to change their previous impressions. Neither have they any reason to believe that any new view of the subject is likely to be presented. Indeed, your committee would on no account recommend any further hearing upon this question. The large assembly which attended the second meeting above mentioned, was evidently in a state of much excitement; and the consequences of another could only be an increased agitation of the public mind. Your committee have reason to believe, that at least some of those who appeared before them, desire this above all things; and the only explanation of the complaint in their memorandum against the committee is, that either wilfully, or from mistaken views, they misunderstand the true nature of 'free discussion,' which your committee with them, consider of inestimable value; the American despotism of slavery, has no points analogous to the despotism, which America and the 'officious interference' of her allies prostrated—which Greece and her 'meddlesome' friends disabled, which has overwhelmed Poland, and annihilated her existence. As if *curiosity*, the all-pervading principle

yet to learn, and they trust that the time for such a lesson has not arrived, that it is any part of their business in the discharge of duties at least arduous and unpleasant, to find themselves subjected to violent and improper language, without an attempt to preserve that decorum which is due to their own self-respect, and the honor of the Commonwealth.

They report, therefore, that the members

have leave to withdraw. By order of the Committee.

GEORGE LUNT, Chairman.

## COMMUNICATIONS.

### THE GREAT QUESTION.

[Continued.]

Let us go back a short distance into events which make a part of our history. Let us see if our notions of liberty—of consequences weighed and sacrifices made—were the same that we now maintain.

We were the lawful subjects of Great Britain. She imposed burthens upon us which many were unwilling to bear. She was unjust and inhuman—but she was not so unnatural as to buy and sell us, or subject men, women, and children, to the refined torments of tiger-hearted cruelty. Her government did not fill the measure of its guilt by severing our families, by purchasing its members to be disposed of how, when, and where, she chose. No enormity like this was contemplated, and our bondage as *British subjects* was infinitely lighter than that of *American slaves*.

But there were not wanting in those days 'incendiaries,' 'domestic' and 'foreign,' who scattered their firebrands, arrows and death—who excited us to rebellion, and to lift our paraded arms against the nation from which we sprung. There was the 'Common Sense' of Paine, teaching the principles of liberty and right, inflaming the minds, and calling forth the energies of an injured people. There was a Washington, a Jefferson, an Adams, a Franklin, and a host of others whose master minds gave strength to the nerve of liberty and roused three millions of subjects to a desperate struggle and independence. And there also came to our aid that 'audacious foreigner,' Lafayette, who first set his foot on that 'chivalrous' shore which now seeks to make despotism doubly strong, by alien and sedition laws, and which is boisterously loud against that distinguished foreigner who has recently proclaimed the watchword of liberty from the house-tops, and revived the slumbering justice of freemen.

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Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow—By their right arms the conquest must be wrought!

No appeals to physical force are now made in this struggle for rights infamously outraged. No training in the art of war for the destruction of human life—but by moral force our conquest must be won. We ask only for the exercise of our right—not will yield but in death—to proclaim our sentiments by speech and by the press. These are the only weapons of which we shall avail ourselves to effect a bloodless, and the most splendid revolution that ever earth or heaven witnessed.

It is—it is with mingled feelings of regret and indignation that I discover hostile and *incendiary* movements on the part of your subjects, and under the protection of the royal sanction. Movements which indicate the most unjustifiable *interference* in my *domestic affairs*. I need hardly to say that I allude to the *interference* in my American Colonies. Sir, the supposed wrongs which a *morbid sensibility* has transformed into intolerable tyranny as supposed to be exercised over my American subjects, is a *domestic matter exclusively my own*—and with which you can have no concern. I call upon you to desist, at once, from that *officious intermeddling* by which you are turning my own household against me. This struggle can only result in greater hardships to my vassals. You are compelling me to add weight to chains which were scarcely felt before this insurrectionary spirit of liberty was excited among them by 'domestic' and 'foreign' 'incendiaries.' Think not I will yield to the clamors of my disaffected subjects. 'They are a rebellious and stiff-necked people.' But how can they prevail against my resources and my power. Think of the blood that must flow if this blind infatuation for Liberty continues. You, sir, are sustaining these *misguided fanatics*; and in as far as you do so, you are responsible for the consequences. These *idle incendiaries*, Washington, Paine, Jefferson, Adams, and many others who are scattering firebrands, arrows and death among a hitherto quiet and contented people, cannot remain guiltless of the blood from this wide spread insurrection against lawful and impartial justice. They do not say to the oppressed,

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We will not yet dismiss the comparison of past and present times. Perhaps it is because another ox is gored, that the case is so altered; for so far as the parallel is concerned, his must be a narrow intellect who does not at once perceive that our colonial vassalage was infinitely preferable to the bondage to which we subject our dark-skinned countrymen. Yet, the 'interference' of France was an 'interference' of physical force. She aided, by such force, the rebellious vassals of England, in breaking the yoke, and prostrating the 'institutions' by which we were bound the lawful subjects to authority we had ever acknowledged. Well, for this 'interference' of France, in the 'domestic' matter of England's colonial government, what American will not rejoice to the latest hour of his life? Have abolitionists contended for an 'interference' of this kind? Have they said to the slave—rely upon your sword for freedom? if they have, when and where? Let the evidence be produced.

At the time of the Grecian struggle against Turkish despotism, the sympathies of this nation were woful to that suffering people. We encouraged them—rejoiced in their resistance, and their victories however bloody, gladdened the hearts of Americans. But according to the logic of the present day, we were, in our sympathies, the 'very worst enemies' of the Greeks. And France, when she was our ally, as well as our revolutionary leaders, was 'our very worst enemies,' we, doubtless, suffered much more during our revolutionary struggle, than at any time preceding it. As if this charge is not equally applicable to all such struggles; and as if Liberty was not worth the sacrifices made to obtain it. How admirably our consistency is preserved!

But we are met in the tone of triumphant assertion that our reasons are of no force, because, as asserted,

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[SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1836.]

## CONSTITUTION.

Article 1. This society shall be called the East Randolph Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Article 2. The object of this society shall be to discuss the subject of slavery, to obtain and diffuse information respecting it, and respecting our duties in relation to it; and to use all suitable means to effect its entire abolition in the United States.

Article 3. Any person may become a member of this society by signing the constitution, and may withdraw from it at any time by notifying the secretary of his intention, and requesting the dissolution of his name.

Article 4. The officers of this society shall be a President, two Vice Presidents, a Corresponding and Recording Secretary and Treasurer, who, with five directors, shall constitute an executive committee to manage the concerns of the society.

Article 5. The Anniversary of this society shall be held during the first or second week in January, the Executive Committee to fix on the day and hour of meeting.

Article 6. The expenses of this society shall be defrayed by the voluntary contributions of its members.

Article 7. This constitution may be altered or amended at any regular meeting of the society by vote of a majority present.

Voted, That a committee of five be appointed to nominate a list of officers and report at the next meeting.

Col. Oramel White, Jacob Whitcomb, Ludovicus Wild, Asa Porter and Moses French, were appointed a committee.

Voted, That this meeting adjourn to Tuesday Evening, March 8, at 6 1/2 o'clock, at this place.

TUESDAY, March 8.

cause, were our souls really 'in their souls' stead ? and the answer, with all the clearness of truth, presses with equal force, that, to professing Christian women of the North, we should *speci-ally* look for an interest in our cause—to the benevolent-hearted women, whose minds have not been contaminated by the baseful influence of slavery.

We believe, then, that duty points to an untiring exertion to extend a moral influence, which shall have for its object the *immediate* and *entire* removal of this system of oppression from our land; and, although our influence may truly be compared to the 'widow's mite,' yet this mite we ought not to withhold.

Faith in the fulfilment of the blessed promises contained in the Holy Scriptures, is a necessary requisite for engaging, with any effect, in this momentous cause, and with *such a confidence of success* as we should undoubtedly have, were the objects of our benevolence as dear to us as are our own kindred.

When we consider our blessings, and contrast them with those enjoyed by our sisters of a sable hue, and reflect that we receive ours all from the hand of *one common Father*, from whose *colored* children we withhold life's dearest blessing, are we not ready to exclaim with the poet—

'Oh ! why are dark chains bound

In such a world as this, where every sigh

Of wind and water hath of liberty

A strange undying sound ?—and that

'If there is one lesson to be learned

From God's creation ; if there is a thought

Barely uttered in the gentle tone

Of heaven's eternal language ; if a voice

From the deep chambers of the unclouded sky,

That finds an echo in the unclouded depths

Of the heart's better feelings, it is this—

*That God would have no slaves.*'

With fervent desires that our exertions may not be unavailing, we agree to form ourselves into an Association, and to adopt the following constitution.

ART. 1. This Society shall be called The Uxbridge Female Anti-Slavery Society, Auxiliary to the Worcester County Anti-Slavery Society, South Division.

ART. 2. Any female declaring the sentiments of the preamble to be her own, by signing this Constitution, and contributing to the funds, may be a member of this Society.

The remaining articles relate to the choice of officers, &c.

The Society was organized 3d month, 1st, 1826, by the choice of the following officers.

*President*—Lydia B. Capron,  
*Vice President*—Sarah W. Grosvenor,  
*Treasurer*—Cloe D. Capron.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Sylvia Willard.

*Recording Secretary*—Lucy W. Foster.

*Councillors*—Olivia Chapin, Anne Bassett, Martha C. Foster, Martha Whipple, Catharine B. Capron, Lucretia C. Silby, Sarah Judson, Abby S. Haskell, Caroline Farnum, Sarah Ann Thayer, Ann Dudley, Mary Judson,

The Society consists of fifty-seven members, who have subscribed sixty-eight dollars.

#### INTERVIEWS WITH THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Some account of the interview which took place on the 4th and 8th of March, between a Committee of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society and the Committee of the Legislature.

His Excellency, the Governor of this Commonwealth, saw fit to introduce into his inaugural speech, a severe censure of the Abolitionists, and to intimate his belief that they were guilty of an offence punishable at common law. This part of the speech was referred to a joint committee of five, of which Hon. George Lunt was chairman. To the same committee were also referred communications, which had been received by our Governor, from several of the Legislatures of the slaveholding states, requesting our General Court to enact laws, making it *penal* for the citizens of this state to form societies for the abolition of slavery, or to speak or publish sentiments, such as have been uttered in anti-slavery meetings, and published in anti-slavery tracts and papers.

By order of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the Corresponding Secretary addressed a letter to the Committee of the Legislature, asking permission to appear before them and show reasons, why there should be no legislative action condemnatory of the Abolitionists. The request was granted, and on the 4th of March, the proposed interview took place, in the chamber of the Representatives.

Mr. Lucas, one of the Legislative Committee, objected to the proceeding—thought the gentlemen, who had had sought this interview, were premature. They had no reason to pre-suppose the Legislature would do any thing prejudicial to them. They ought to have waited, until the Committee had reported, before they proceeded on the supposition, that they were to be injured.

Mr. May replied that he thought he and his associates could not be mistaken in the present case. They belonged to that class of persons, spoken of in the Governor's Speech, in terms of severe censure—and to whom the communications referred, which had been received from several southern states, and upon which this Committee had been instructed by the Legislature to report. Mr. May read one or two of the resolutions of the southern Legislatures, respecting abolitionists and anti-slavery societies, and added, can the gentleman (Mr. Lucas) or this Committee, have any doubt that we, members of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, are a portion of that class of persons, upon whom the Legislature of this Commonwealth is called upon to pass censure ? Surely not. Now it is our purpose to avert any action of this General Court, that might infringe the liberty of speech and of the press, that we have asked permission to show to this Committee why, we conceive there should be no legislative censure in any way passed upon abolitionists, and anti-slavery societies.

Mr. Lucas replied it was not to be supposed the Legislature of this Commonwealth would enact any law, abridging the liberty of speech and of the press. This could not be done constitutionally. It was very improper in the gentlemen of the anti-slavery society to proceed to this supposition.

Mr. May rejoined, that formerly it might indeed have seemed a gratuitous, nay, even an impudent apprehension in any of the citizens of Massachusetts to fear that the Legislature of this state would enact any law, or take any action, insinuating to the most sacred rights of the citizens. But recent events have admonished us that we may not safely rely any longer upon the assurance that our liberties are safe. Alarming encroachments have been made upon them already. And 'that reverence for liberty which' as Mr.

Pickney of Maryland said, in 1789, 'is at the foundation of republican institutions,' has greatly diminished among us, owing to our acquiescence in the system of slavery. We do not fear, he continued, that this Committee will recommend or that the Legislature will enact a penal law against abolitionists. But we do apprehend that condemnatory resolutions may be prepared and passed—and these we should depurate more even than a penal law, for reasons which we wish to give to this Committee.

[Here the Committee conferred together.]

Mr. Moseley said—I wish all the information I can get on this subject. I hope nothing will preclude a hearing. I must act in relation to it, and am now in a great degree ignorant. I wish to know how far abolitionists goes ;—what it is tending to do,—and what it is. Though I am opposed to the measures of the abolitionists, yet no opinions from a respectable body of men are unworthy of regard.

Mr. Lucas withdrew his objection.

Mr. May then proceeded to give some sketch of the origin and history of the abolition movements. The feeling of opposition to slavery had its origin in that principle of our nature, which leads us to sympathize with the oppressed. He illustrated by a reference to the Poles, &c. He then stated that this feeling for the slaves had led to the formation of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. It consisted of a band of men associated to overthrow the system of American slavery, by all the intellectual moral power they possessed. This object they had no desire to keep secret.

Mr. May was proceeding to give a sketch of the evils of slavery social, political and moral, which had roused the Abolitionists to the efforts they are making.

Mr. Lunt, the chairman, here interposed, and said that there was but one opinion on that point, and that such remarks were unnecessary.

Mr. May resumed and gave a description of several important documents, which he presented to the committee. He explained what is meant by immediate emancipation ;—defended the publications from the charge of incendiarism,—and spoke of the distribution of their publications by mail. If the Libel is incendiary, if the Declaration of Independence is incendiary, then are our anti-slavery documents.

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ought not, and is not, to be so repressed. Those of us here who heard the thrilling eloquence of Faneuil Hall, when the Polish Standards were dedicated to the cause of freedom, who listened ten years since to the spirit-stirring appeals of our scholars and statesmen, in behalf of the down-trodden Greeks, recked little of their 'international obligations' to 'our ancient allies,' the sultan, or the czar. It is impossible gravely to argue such a position.

Is it not in the Constitution of the United States that this restriction on our liberty of speech is to be looked for ? And if so, are we to find our condemnation in its letter or in its spirit ? I find there an abundant guaranty for the liberty of speech; but I look in vain, in the letter of the constitution, for any prohibition of the use of moral means, for the extirpation of slavery. The word slave does not stain its pages, and there are but three allusions to the subject, in the whole instrument. The first is in the clause authorizing slave representation in Congress. I war not with this arrangement. It forbids me not to speak my mind of slavery. The second is the article which prohibits Congress from forbidding the migration or importation of such persons as the states shall admit, (meaning by this the foreign and domestic slave-trade) until the year 1808 ; and the third is the clause, which requires us to send back into slavery the poor being who has escaped from the hand of his master. What is there in all this which prevents my testifying against slavery ? How much is there not in it which calls on me to speak. If the southern slaves should forcibly assert those rights which our fathers proclaimed to be the birthright of all men equally,—liberty, and the means of happiness,—you and I, Mr. Chairman, are legally liable, (under the clause in the Constitution relating to the suppression of domestic insurrection) to be drafted in the militia, in order to force down their throats with the bayonet, the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence ! And if slavery bring upon me this horrible obligation, am I to be denied the poor right of talking about it ? If I am bound by the Acts of the United States under the heaviest penalties, to drive from my door the poor fugitive who implores my protection,—if I am obliged, as a magistrate, against the express law of God, to sign the warrant for his delivery to his southern task-master, such obligations give me at least the right to remonstrate.

No, Mr. Chairman, we hear much of a 'Compact,' which binds me to hold my tongue on slavery—but where am I to find it ? So grave an infringement of our general right of discussion, if it exist, should certainly be very plainly set down. Any law or regulation on this subject is penal in its character, and I demand that its terms be express, and that it be most strictly construed. But the truth is, no such prohibition is to be found at all. There is not one word said on the subject, in the Constitutions or laws under which we live. The continuance of slavery in the Southern States is, politically speaking, among the reserved rights of those States. The only conclusion from this is, that neither Congress nor the Legislatures of other States can legislate on slavery for any State in which it exists. All this I readily grant, nor did I ever hear it disputed by any man. But what has this to do with our efforts to overthrow slavery by moral means ? Slavery, in this respect, stands on precisely the same ground with Lotteries, Intemperance, and other matters of domestic regulation. They are subjects of the reserved rights of the States, and can be acted on, for legal purposes, only by the local legislatures. But who in his senses would pretend that this fact limits the exertion of our moral influence ? That it would be, for example, a violation of the Constitution of the U. S., to discuss in Massachusetts the subject of Lotteries or Intemperance—the Pennsylvania Lottery for instance, or the effect of Albany Ale—or to situate on these subjects into other States ? What would have been thought, when South Carolina was arming herself against the General Government, of a proposition to punish the Managers of our Peace Society, for sending into that State discussions as to the unlawfulness of war, or descriptions of its horrors ?

We do not claim to legislate. We wish no man to fight, even if oppressed. It is known that the abolitionists, as a class, hold the peaceful opinions of the Quakers—but we are willing to trust our cause to the foolishness of preaching. Give us our choice, and we would, ten-fold, rather have the peaceful power of affecting public sentiment on any moral question, by argument, entreaty, description, reproof—than to be girded with the sword, or attended by the posse comitatus. Such is our opinion, and fanatical though it be called, it has been the fanaticism of every victorious reform.

But it is said, our proceedings are contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. And is it then true that the spirit of our Constitution is the spirit of Slavery ? Wo unto us, for 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty.' What becomes of our boast of living under 'a free government'—of enjoying 'free institutions' ? Was then our solemn appeal and justification before the nations, in the Declaration of Independence, only a piece of hypocrisy or rhodomantle ? If we have only broken the peace of the enslaver of his brethren, as atrocity, or to subdue on these subjects into other States ? What would have been thought, when South Carolina was arming herself against the General Government, of a proposition to punish the Managers of our Peace Society, for sending into that State discussions as to the unlawfulness of war, or descriptions of its horrors ?

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also be informed whether our *right* to speak here is to be recognized by the committee, or whether we are still to be considered as being permitted to speak by *special favor*.

[The chairman declined making any satisfactory explanations—and Dr. Follen therefore declined to proceed.]

After a few moments consultation with the representatives of the Anti-Slavery Society—*Mr. May* said to the Committee, We have concluded, gentlemen, to occupy your attention no longer at this time.

We shall present a remonstrance to the Legislature to-morrow morning, and hope hereafter to be permitted to meet you, with a better understanding of our rights.

#### SECOND INTERVIEW.

On the morning of the 5th of March a remonstrance was presented, by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, to the Senate and House of Representatives, against the demands of the south, and against any action of the Legislature in accordance with those demands—concluding with the request, that the *right* of the petitioners to be heard before the Committee might be recognized, and they be permitted to appear and show reasons, why there should be no penal law enacted, and no resolutions passed, censoring the Abolitionists and Anti-Slavery Societies. The remonstrance was read in both branches of the Legislature and referred to the same Committee. On the 7th, the chairman of the Committee informed the Corresponding Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, that the Committee would meet the Abolitionists again on the afternoon of the 8th. Accordingly, at the time appointed, the Committee sat in the Hall of the Representatives, and a numerous audience, partly composed of ladies, attended the proceedings.

*Mr. May.* Whatever you, Sir—and your associates may think of the remarks of Dr. Follen, it is for the committee to decide whether they were proper or improper. You are not to dictate to us in what manner we shall regulate the proceedings of this examination. You have no right to claim from us a hearing on this subject. It is a matter of special favor on our part, that you are admitted to this interview at all—and now you must be subject to our direction.

*Mr. May.* You have repeatedly, Sir, reminded us that we were here by special favor—and not by right. I do not perfectly understand you. I know that it is very common for individuals, whose interests are to be affected by any Act pending before the Legislature, to appear before the committee of the Legislature, by whom the Act is to be prepared, and show reasons why it should be constructed in one way or another. The Senate Chamber is now occupied by several Committees, who are listening very patiently to what individuals are saying for or against Acts, about to be proposed respecting Rail Roads or Banks or some other monied institutions, and I presume some of the right of those individuals to be there is not questioned. We have sought an interview with you, gentlemen, on a subject of infinitely greater moment than all the monied institutions in the land. The cause of freedom—the interests of humanity have brought us here. If we have not taken the right way to get here, it is because of my ignorance about these matters. I know nothing about the etiquette of the legislature. By order of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, I addressed a letter to the Chairman of this Committee, requesting to have a hearing. The request was granted—and here we are, invested, I presume to believe, with the rights of your fellow citizens—and the most sacred rights of man—one of which is to be heard before we are condemned—and another, to exert ourselves that we may avert evil from ourselves or others.

*Mr. Lunt.* I conceive, Sir, that you are here to exculpate yourselves, if you can, from the charges alleged against you, and not to instruct us, or the Legislature what we are to do, in reference to the communities, we have received from certain other States. Now if you will confine yourselves to the explanations, you may think it necessary to make, of your otherwise proceedings, you may go on.

*Mr. May.* We are not here, Sir, as culprits. We do not feel like culprits, nor do we mean to act as such. We know that we are aiming to accomplish a great good, and to avert great national evils. We feel that we are standing up before the world, in the defence of high moral and religious principles—principles, the continued disregard of which, must bring ruin upon our country. We have been laboring, and shall continue to labor, by all moral means—by those means the free use of which is guaranteed to us in our Federal Constitution—to redeem the millions of our enslaved countrymen from their cruel bondage, and to redeem their oppressors from their awful iniquity. We believe in an eminent state of the South, that “the hour of emancipation must come,” and that if it come not by the generous energy of our own minds, it will be brought on by the awful process of St. Domingo—servile and civil war. It is to avert that awful catastrophe, that we are laboring. We are alarmed at the magnitude the evil has already attained. We have observed with dismaying the general decline of that reverence for liberty, which is the only security of our institutions. We see the tide of corruption rolling northward. And we have come here-to-day, for some higher purpose than merely to defend or explain, our proceedings. We have come in the hope that we may do something to induce the State of Massachusetts to take a stand, worthy of herself—yes—to stand up as a bulwark that shall stay, and turn back, the proud waves of oppression, that are rolling over the land.

*Mr. Loring.* We should like, Sir, to know what our rights, in the present instance, are? The Governor of this State has called your attention to the subject of slavery, and to the attempts we, with others, are making to abolish it. Several of the southern States have called upon you to put down the abolitionists by law—to make it a penal offence for us to meet, to speak or publish our thoughts on the subject of slavery. Now Sir, if it were an affair, in which our pecuniary interests were involved to the amount of \$5, you would probably have issued an order of notice for us to come before you, that we might be heard for or against the Act, you were about to propose. And shall we not, Sir, be considered as having some right to appear before you in the present case, in which our liberties, perhaps our lives are concerned, and in which the dearest interests of our country are involved?

*Mr. Goodell.* We came here as freemen and we mean to go away as freemen. If we cannot be heard as having a *right*, and not merely as a matter of special favor—we had better send in a remonstrance to the Legislature, and then we may come before you with a better understanding of the ground on which we stand.

*Mr. Lunt.* You would have done well to have taken that course before.

Here the chairman (Mr. Lunt) consulted with the rest of the Committee, and after a few minutes said,

Although we are persuaded the remarks of Dr. Follen are improper—still rather than you should go away, and say you have not had a fair hearing, he may resume his course of remark.

*Dr. Follen.* Before I proceed, Mr. Chairman, I must beg again to be distinctly informed what it is, I have said, that should be considered disrespectful to the committee—or otherwise indecorous. And I must

also be informed whether the *Tree of Liberty*—in which is exhibited on the one side the effects of free, and on the other the effects of slave labor. Illustrations of the speeches made in Faneuil Hall—a sheet on which are six pictures, representing horrible scenes of daily occurrence in this land of liberty. Also a large sheet containing sketches of several of the slaveholding establishments in the District of Columbia. And lastly, a picture copied by an American artist from one executed in England, illustrative of the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies on the 1st of August, 1834.]

Now, gentlemen, we wish you to look at these pictures, and those in the small pamphlets I laid before you, and decide for yourselves which of them is incendiary or insurrectionary. They are very exciting, I know—it is for this reason we make use of them. Many minds and hearts are more immediately and deeply affected by a pictorial representation, than by a verbal description. These pictures are intended for the north rather than the south, where the shocking originals of these pictures are to be found. But some of them have been sent to the south, that our brethren there may know what we are doing here, to expose the American system of slavery, and to excite a general abhorrence of it. We have no wish to conceal from them any thing we are doing, intend to do.

If it could be shown that our publications and prints are, in any sense of the words, insurrectionary—still I insist that we have not distributed them in such a manner as to warrant the charge, that we are endeavoring to create an insurrection. We have not sent them to the slaves, nor to the free people of color at the south, for the reasons which I stated last week.

We have sent them, as I stated at our former interview—we have sent them to men of standing and influence, in the communities where they reside—to ministers of all denominations, to members of the state and national legislatures, to judges and justices, and to men whose names we have obtained from the Registers. If some slaves have seen the pictures, or have read the publications we have sent to their masters, this has been incidental and not a part of our plan. Our object and endeavor are to exhibit to the slaveholders and those who are co-operating with them to perpetuate the despotism of our republic, the awful consequences of slavery, and the certain destruction which will overwhelm this nation, if we do not speedily depart from this iniquity. Light and liberty are but very partially diffused over the southern states; and efforts are now making to restrict their diffusion over the northern states. At the south, excepting on the elevated places of society, excepting the favored few, the population are walking in moral and intellectual darkness—no system of general education is established there, and the means of religious instruction are very partially provided. The mass of the people, while as well as black, are alarmingly ignorant and awfully bigoted. At the north, we find that the people have already been roused by the pro-slavery party, to commit violence upon the most sacred rights of men and citizens—yes, to trample under foot the palladium of our liberties. It is now evident to all, that slavery must be abolished, or we shall all be slaves, or little better than slaves.

*Dr. Follen.* (late Professor in Harvard University) addressed the Committee. He said he had been eleven years a resident, and six years a citizen of this Republic. The principles on which the Anti-Slavery Societies were founded, were the same which brought him to this country, and without the enjoyment of which he could not wish to remain in it. The principle of freedom, and especially the right of free discussion, were secured to the citizen in the Constitution and laws of the country. The principle of freedom of speech was the only point really at issue before the Committee of the Legislature. It was proposed, through the medium of this Committee, to recommend to the Legislature either penal enactments, or a vote of censure against the Abolitionists, and for what? Simply for the exercise of the freedom of speech and the press, not only without any violation of law, but clearly within the law and the Constitution. In no case, said Dr. F., has it been pretended that ought but speaking and printing, has ever been attempted by abolitionists to accomplish the objects they have in view. We are to be censured, if at all, by the Legislature, not for what we have *done*, but for what we believe and say, though there is no law, and no law can be made under the Constitution, against which we have offended. We have endeavored by persuasion, by argument, by moral and religious appeals, to urge upon the Nation, and especially upon our Southern brethren, the necessity of freeing themselves from the stain of slavery, which rests upon our institutions. This is all that we have done, and what we shall continue to do. What is there so singular in this, that the Abolitionists of this country should be marked for Legislative censure? It is now admitted that the voice of the civilized world, out of this country, is with the Abolitionists. The civilized nations of Europe, have already done or are fast doing, what must be done in this country, at some time or other. Emancipation must come. Mr. Jefferson prophesied truly when he said many years ago, that an end to slavery must come. Whether it shall come in peace, or by argument and persuasion, or in blood, as it did in St. Domingo, rests upon ourselves to determine. The Abolitionists, feeling in the spirit of the prophecy of Jefferson, that emancipation must come, seek to bring it about in peace, by rousing the country to a sense of the dangers growing out of this institution, and increasing, so long as it remains among us. If we are told we must not discuss it now, we ask, when will the time come to discuss it? When will the South be better prepared than she is now, for the discussion? We have endeavored—we shall endeavor still more, to arouse the people to this crying iniquity—to excite their feelings of commiseration for the enslaved; but we never have intended to excite any evil feelings, unless it be an evil feeling to abhor injustice, oppression, cruelty. We have endeavored to excite this feeling. We would, if we could, fill every bosom in the land with the utmost abhorrence of slaveholding—making property of men—reducing rational and moral beings to the condition of mere brutes. But we would not excite the slaves, or their friends, to do any injury to the masters. Gentlemen, I confidently appeal to all the anti-slavery publications I am acquainted with. You will find in them uniformly an explicit and earnest disclaimer of all intention or right to resort to physical violence.

[Mr. M. here presented copies of a large number of publications, commenting upon them, and reading extracts from them, in confirmation of what he had said of their pacific spirit—particularly copies of the papers which were burnt with so much fury at Charleston, S.C.]

But the pictures, Mr. Chairman, the pictures we have published, have given the greatest offence, and have been pronounced most incendiary. I have brought copies of them, that the Committee may see and judge for themselves whether they deserve that title. Here, for instance, is the picture of a kneeling slave. It is very coarsely executed—so much so as to be almost a caricature. But what, sir, is the sentiment of the picture? Does it look like violence or insurrection? Is the kneeling posture, the attitude of one about to assault his enemy? And these chained arms, do they look like fighting? And these well-known, touching lines of Cowper—the Negro's Complaint—or the equally beautiful verses of our beloved Whittier—do these contain any counsel to violence? Read them, Mr. Chairman—read them, gentlemen. They are very exciting, but they are by no means insurrectionary.

[Mr. May went on to exhibit several other pic-

tures—the Tree of Liberty—in which is exhibited on the one side the effects of free, and on the other the effects of slave labor. Illustrations of the speeches made in Faneuil Hall—a sheet on which are six pictures, representing horrible scenes of daily occurrence in this land of liberty. Also a large sheet containing sketches of several of the slaveholding establishments in the District of Columbia. And lastly, a picture copied by an American artist from one executed in England, illustrative of the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies on the 1st of August, 1834.]

I would not justify all the language used by abolitionists in their speeches and writings. Whenever they have been wrong, as I thought, I have censured them, I censure them now. But it would be impossible to belong to any party or body of men, if the whole were to be made responsible for every extravagant expression that might be uttered by an individual. Must every man refuse to act any more on a principle, because some one who professes the same is extravagant or intemperate in language? And especially, will the Legislature attempt to punish or censure freedom of speech, because some use it improperly? We must, in all such cases, take the broad ground of right; freedom of speech and freedom of opinion, a right secured to us by the Constitution of the United States; and secured to us by the constitution of human nature. It is the only condition of improvement, the only safeguard of liberty. It is a right which cannot be taken from one class of citizens, without reaching all.

At this point alone, freedom of speech under the Constitution, are we assailed. You cannot censure freedom of speech with abolitionists, without preparing the way to censure it in any other class of citizens, who may for the moment be obnoxious to the majority. The question, therefore, is not whether you will put down the abolitionists, but it is whether the Legislature of Massachusetts will suppress freedom of speech forever? We say to you, save yourselves, as well as us from consequences which we most all bear alike, if on this point, we give up the freedom of discussion. We approach also, and not without reason, personal consequences to ourselves, should any vote of censure be passed by the Legislature. Although I feel that many of my friends have been deeply injured by the unjust excitement which has been got up against them, found on misrepresentation, yet I can look at it with the eye of a friend of liberty. Even the mobs which have done so much discredit to the country in the estimation of the civilized world, I am glad to be able to believe, have acted on a delusion which had for its object, though mistaken, to preserve the Union. They believed we wanted to infringe the compact of the Constitution, by violent means, and destroy the Union. This was their error from the misrepresentations, made so often, of the designs and acts of the abolitionists. As a friend of liberty, I am glad to be able to look on the popular excitement, from which my friends have suffered, in this light, but where Judge Lynch has presided, I must say, as I said the other day—

[Mr. Lunt—(Chairman of the Committee.)—I call you to order, sir. This is not respectful to the Committee, which I understand, is the same which have followed the expression of opinions condemning the abolitionists in another place. I allude to the meeting in Faneuil Hall, which was followed by a mob. That meeting had passed resolutions of censure, which had excited misapprehension of the real motives and designs of Abolitionists, and endeared their lives. I complained at that time, of the injustice done us, by representing us as desiring to destroy the Union. To every one of the Resolutions adopted in that Hall, we can subscribe, but the preamble to the Resolutions, of which we complain, spoke of the Abolitionists as holding opinions entirely opposite to those we maintain. We were held up to the public odium as disunionists.—What was the consequence? Persons thinking themselves justified and supported by many of the most respectable and influential men in the country, undertook to carry into effect the opinions expressed at the meeting in Faneuil Hall, by a mob. Individuals, peaceably and lawfully assembled, were assailed with violence, and put in peril of their lives. The rights of property were disregarded.—The sign of the Anti-Slavery Society was torn down and destroyed, and the spectacle was exhibited in the most enlightened and orderly city in the Union, of a mob, in the glare of day, leading an innocent man through the streets of Boston, with a halter about him. Yet not a single magistrate or court of Justice have taken cognizance of these acts of violence. I believe that those engaged in that outrage, are heartily sorry for the mob, and I wish to bury it in oblivion. I take no pleasure in alluding to it, and have only done so, as showing the consequences likely to follow measures, which may now be intended against the Abolitionists. Our view is, simply, that if a vote of censure should pass the Legislature, it might be followed by a repetition of the same outrages.

[Mr. Lunt—Your allusion to mobs, for which you were called to order at the last session, is not proper.

[Dr. Follen—Am I then to understand, that speaking disrespectfully of mobs is disrespectful to this Committee?

[Mr. Lunt.—Your allusion is not proper, and cannot be permitted.

[Dr. Follen. Only allow me to have a distinct understanding of the objection. I have spoken, and was about to allude to what you were called to order for, the other day.

[Dr. Follen.—I thought the other day I had been called to order for taking it for granted that the Legislature would pass penal enactments, or a vote of censure, against the abolitionists. I do not understand why I am stopped now.

[Mr. Lunt.—Your allusion to mobs, for which you were called to order at the last session, is not proper.

[Dr. Follen.—I am not conscious of having said any thing disrespectful to the Committee. I beg to be informed in what I am out of order.

[Mr. Lunt.—It is not respectful to the Committee to allude to what you were called to order for, the other day.

[Dr. Follen.—I thought for the other day I had been called to order for taking it for granted that the Legislature would pass penal enactments, or a vote of censure, against the abolitionists. I do not understand why I am stopped now.

[Mr. Lunt—(Said he was dissatisfied wholly from the chair.) He saw nothing in the allusion to mobs, disrespectful to the Committee or to the Legislature, and be considered that Dr. Follen was entirely in order.

[Dr. Follen.—If I have not the freedom of speech to speak of the evil consequences which we, as abolitionists, apprehend may follow a legislative censure, which may be used by interested and reckless men, as a sanction of mobs to assault us, then I have nothing more to say. If this is not allowed—if we cannot point out the direct or indirect tendency of legislative action, by a vote of censure, or otherwise, to incite mobs against us, then I have nothing more to say.

[Mr. Lunt—He would clear his skirts of this matter before the Legislature, and would take the opinion of the Committee, whether an allusion to mobs should be permitted.

[Mr. Lucas and Mr. Corbett, two of the Committee, appeared silently to assent to the views of the Chairman. Mr. Lunt, who then said—I am happy to find that I am sustained by a majority of the Committee. It was decided that Dr. F. was out of order, and must not allude to mobs.

[Re. Mr. May here rose and called the attention of the Chairman to the Memorial, under which they now appeared before the Committee. The former interview they had with the Committee, was granted by the Chairman on application to him, but as it appeared to be regarded by the Chairman, as a matter of mere

## LITERARY.

## HYMN.

Written by a gentleman of East Abington, and sung on the evening of the 9th inst., at which time the Abington Anti-Slavery Society was formed.

O, Thou, who from thy throne on high,  
Dost deign to lend a listening ear  
To the young ravens, when they cry,  
O! condescend our voice to hear.

We, unto Thee, our crimes confess,  
With our most aggravated sin  
Of disregarding the distress  
Of those who wear a darker skin.

Long hast thou blest our happy land  
With Freedom's mild and cheering light;  
May we, with cheerful heart and hand,  
Extend to all, this sacred right.

May Freedom's universal reign  
Fill earth, as waters fill the sea,  
Break the oppressor's iron chain,  
And let the oppressed all go free.

Then shall earth's darkest regions ring,  
And shouts of joy, shall rend the sky;  
And all th' enslaved shall rise and sing,  
All glory be to God on high.

## THE LONELY HOME.

BY CHARLES SWAIN.

There's none to say 'good night' to me—

No friend my little fire to share;  
The old horse clock ticks drearily,  
And makes the silence worse to bear.  
Gone! all are gone! the fondest, best,  
And loveliest, that I called my own;  
After brief suffering they're at rest;  
They—they lived not to wail alone!

Alone, alone—morn, noon, and eve,  
I see the cold chairs keep their place;  
I watch the dirty spider weave,  
Where once there shone a household grace.  
The brightness of my home is dull—  
The busy faces all are gone;  
I gaze—and oh! my heart is full—  
My aching heart, that breaks alone!

I ope the Bible, gray with age—  
The same my hapless grandsons read;  
But tears stain fast and deep that page  
Which keeps their names—my loved—my dead.  
The wand'ring stranger by my door—  
The passing tread—the distant tone—  
All human sounds but deepen more  
The feeling I am lone—alone!

My cot with mantling ivy green,  
Its pleasant porch, its sanded floor—  
Ah! Time's dread touch hath chang'd the scene,  
What was alas! is now no more!  
The key hath rusted in the lock,  
So long since I the threshold cross'd;  
Why should I see the sun but mock  
The blessed light my home hath lost?

Oh! would my last low bed were made!  
But Death forsakes the lone and old;  
Seeks the blithe cheeks of youth to fade,  
To crush the gay, the strong, the bold.  
Yet sometimes through the long dull night,  
When hours find supernatural tone,  
I hear a promise of delight,  
Thou, God! thou leav'st me not alone.

The winter rain fell fast and deep,  
As slow a coffin past the road;

No mourner there was seen to weep—  
No follower to that last abode!

Yet there a broken heart found peace—  
The peace that but in death it knew;

Alas! that human loves increase

Our human woes and miseries too!

## THANKSGIVING HYMN.

BY HENRY WARE, JR.

Father of earth and Heaven!  
Whose arm upholds Creation!

To thee we raise the voice of praise,  
And bend in adoration.

We praise the power that made us,  
We praise the love that blesses;

While every day that rolls away,

Thy gracious care confesses.

Life is from Thee, blest Father!  
From thee our breathing spirits;

And thou dost give to all that live,

The bliss that each inherits.

Day, night, and rolling seasons,

And all that life embraces,

With bliss are crowned, with joy abound,

And claim our thankful praises.

Though trial and affliction,

May cast their dark shade o'er us

They love doth flow a heavenly glow,

Of light on all before us.

That love has smiled from heaven

To cheer our path of sadness,

And lead the way through earth's dull day,

To realms of endless gladness.

That light of love and glory

Has shone through Christ, the Saviour,

The holy Guide who lived and died,

That we might live forever.

And thus thy great compassion

Thus brings thy children near Thee,

May we to praise devote our days,

And love, as well as fear thee.

And death's final summons,

From earth's dear scenes shall move us,

From friends, from foes—from joys, from woes,

From all that know and love us;

Oh, then, let hope attend us!

Thy peace to us be given!

That we may rise above the skies,

And sing thy praise in heaven!

[From the Christian Spectator.]

## HYMN.

Earth has a joy unknown in heaven,  
The new-born joy of sins forgiven!

Tears of such pure and deep delight,

Ye Angels! never durst thy sight.

Ye saw of old, on chaos rise

The beauteous pillars of the skies:

Ye know where Morn, exulting, springs,

And evening folds her drooping wings.

Bright heralds of th' Eternal Will,  
Abroad their errands ye fulfil;

Or thrond' in floods of beamy day,

Symphonious, in his presence play.

Low is the song—the heavenly plain

Is shaken with the choral strain—

And dying echoes, floating far,

Draw music from each chiming star.

But I amid your choirs shall shine,

And all your knowledge shall be mine;

Ye on your harps must lean to hear

A secret chord that mine will bear.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

## SLAVE MARKET AT NATCHEZ.

The following account of the mode of buying and selling slaves at the South, is from a work entitled 'The South West, by a Yankee.' Hail, Columbia, happy land!

I accompanied a friend, (a planter) to the slave market, which is situated about a mile from the city. It is composed of a cluster of rough wooden buildings, the saddle of two roads, in front of which, several saddle horses, either tied or held by servants, indicated a place of popular resort.

Lighting, we left our horses in charge to the establishment. Entering through a wide gate into a narrow court-yard, partially enclosed by low buildings, a scene of a novel character was at once presented. A line of negroes, commencing at the entrance with the tallest, who was no more than five feet eight or nine inches in height—for negroes are a low rather than a tall race of men—down to a little fellow of about ten years of age, extended in a semicircle around the right side of the yard. There were in all about forty. With their hats in their hands, which hung down by their sides, they stood perfectly still, and in close order, while some gentlemen were passing from one to another examining for the purpose of buying. With the exception of displaying their teeth when addressed, and rolling their great white eyes about the court, they were so many statues of the most glossy ebony. As we entered the mart, one of the slave merchants approached us, saying, 'Good morning, gentlemen! Would you like to examine my lot of boys? I have as fine a lot as ever came into market.' We approached them, one of us as a curious spectator, the other as a purchaser; and as my friend passed along the line, with a scrutinizing eye—giving that singular look peculiar to the buyer of slaves as he glances from head to foot over each individual—the passive subjects of his observations betrayed no other signs of curiosity than that evinced by an occasional glance. The entrance of a stranger into the mart is by no means an unimportant event to the slaves, for every stranger may soon become his master and command his future destinies. But slaves are seldom strongly affected by any circumstance, and their reflections never give them much uneasiness. To the generality of them, life is mere annual existence, passed in physical exertion or enjoyment. This is the case with the field hands in particular, and more so with the females than the males, who through a long life seldom see any other person than their master or overseer, or any other gentleman's dwelling than the 'great bus,' the 'white house' of these domestic empires in which they are subjects. To this class, a change of masters is a matter of indifference; they are handed from one to the other with the passiveness of a purchased horse. These constitute the lowest rank of slaves, and lowest grade in the scale of the human species.

'For what service particular did you want to buy?' inquired the trader of my friend. 'A conchman.' 'There is one I think may suit you, sir,' said he; 'George step out here.' Fortieth with a light colored negro, with a fine figure and good face, biting an enormous pair of lips, advanced a step from the line, and looked with some degree of intelligence, though with an air of indifference, upon his intended purchaser.

'How old are you, George?' he inquired. 'I don't recollect, sir, 'zactly—b'lieve I'm somewhere 'bout twenty-dree.' 'Where were you raised?' 'On master R—'s farm in Wigriny. Then you are a Virginian negro.' 'Yes, massa, full blood Wigriny.' 'Did you drive your master's carriage?' 'Yes, massa, I drove ole missis' carriage more dan four year.' 'Have you a wife?' 'Yes, massa, I lef' young wife in Richmond, but I got a new wife here in de lot. I wish you buy her massa, if you gwine to buy me.'

This party is growing at the North, and the inevitable consequence must be, that in elections that are to be contended in future political canvassings, they will be courted and caressed by the two great contending parties.

Mr. Preston regarded the concerted movement upon the District of Columbia as an attempt to storm the gates of the citadel—as throwing the bridge over the moat. The South must resist the danger in its inception, or it would soon become irresistible. Look at the efforts these abolitionists are making. One person of wealth had pledged himself to subscribe one thousand dollars a month to aid in the cause. Twenty-five others had engaged to pay and had paid forty thousand dollars a year towards the undertaking. While such developments of the excited state of feeling among individuals and classes at the North were made, would Southern men stand up and say, we have no cause for alarm. The evil is distant.

It is not increasing. Mr. Preston expressed in eloquent terms his attachment to the Union, and his belief in the inherent stability of our institutions. He appealed to high-minded Senators from the North—to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster) to devise some means, to suggest some plan by which the just alarm of the South might be allayed. He wished them to say how far they were disposed to go with them. He looked with confidence to their wisdom and patriotism in effecting the great object, which he believed they equally had in view.

After Mr. Preston concluded, Mr. Buchanan obtained the floor, and the Senate adjourned.

## ABOLITION DEBATE IN CONGRESS.

[Correspondence of the Boston Atlas.]

Washington, March 1, 1836.

The discussion upon the abolition question was resumed to-day in the Senate. Mr. Webster expressed himself briefly upon the subject. He said that his views were well known. He was referring these petitions to an appropriate committee and entertaining discussion upon their report, such as it might be. Mr. Prentiss of Vermont next obtained the floor. He was not prepared to deny the right of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the District, and was decidedly in favor of the reception of petitions for that purpose. He vindicated the character of some of the abolitionists in his own State, and bore testimony to their increase in number and strength.

Mr. Preston of South Carolina closed the debate of the day with a speech in his imposing style. He called upon gentlemen of the South with great earnestness to awake to a true sense of the circumstances of their situation—to form a due estimate of the means, the operations and the numbers of the abolitionists. In a less enlightened age, one individual preached up a Crusade. What might not be done now, when thousands of individuals had engaged in a cause appealing not less forcibly to similar susceptibilities of our nature—when the fanaticism of liberty and religion were equally roused into action—when the most incessant and devoted exertions were made by those employed in the task, who had caught the contagion—when hundreds of affiliated societies were in active operation to forward the work of emancipation—when presses were subsidized, and the most tremendous engines were set in motion to influence popular opinion. It is idle, said Mr. P., to contend that these fanatics are not augmenting in numbers, or that they can be diverted from their incendiary labors. The question of abolition in this District and in the Southern States is pressing upon the people with a great and portentous rapidity. It is a falling body, and gathers strength as it falls. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact. The proceedings of the emancipators of the North are pregnant with danger rapidly approaching. The public pulse is bounding with the excitement, and the public mind is convulsed like the Pythoness upon the tripod. In England and in France, the developments of popular sentiment are all against us. The denunciations heard there reverberate throughout our own country. The pulpit lifts its voice against us, and the rostrum is erected to declaim against the enormity of our social institution. Do gentlemen say that this growing hostility can be speedily checked? Do they regard it as lightly as a summer cloud, as a slight popular breeze? Time may show how woefully mistaken they are.

Why, sir, it used to be a rare thing to have one of these abolition memorials thrust upon us. I remember that soon after I took my seat in the Senate, a petition of this kind was introduced. It was a novelty to me, and I was startled; but gentlemen told me to be under no concern, for it would be sent to the Lion's den, from which there was no egress. It would never be heard of more. But now, how have these petitions multiplied! They are poured upon us in battalions. The Senator from Vermont has characterized these petitioners, many of them, as good and honorable men, I do not doubt that there are many such engaged in these disorganizing measures. But is there any thing in this fact calculated to diminish our alarm?

If virtuous and honest, though deluded, men, are lending their aid to this work, have we not reason for increased vigilance, jealousy and apprehension?

For what service particular did you want to buy?

'I'm a conchman.'

'There is one I think may suit you, sir,' said he;

'George step out here.'

'Forthwith a light colored negro, with a fine figure and good face, biting an enormous pair of lips, advanced a step from the line, and looked with some degree of intelligence, though with an air of indifference, upon his intended purchaser.

'How old are you, George?' he inquired.

'I don't recollect, sir, 'zactly—b'lieve I'm somewhere 'bout twenty-dree.'

'Where were you raised?' 'On master R—'s farm in Wigriny.'

'Then you are a Virginian negro.'

'Yes, massa, full blood Wigriny.'

'Did you drive your master's carriage?' 'Yes, massa, I drove ole missis' carriage more dan four year.'

'Have you a wife?' 'Yes, massa, I lef' young wife in Richmond, but I got a new wife here in de lot.'

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